

THE
Detector Detected :
OR,
STATE of AFFAIRS
ON THE
G O L D C O A S T,
AND
C O N D U C T

OF THE
Present MANAGERS consider'd.
WITH A

Comparison of the TRADE in the late Com-
pany's Time, and Benefits since received
by the open Plan for extending the same.

Wrote on the COAST,
By J. S. G. last Commandant of COMMENDA,
under the *Royal African Company*.

Shall the unworthy Fatten on brave Men's Toil.
———*Si tibi vera videtur*
Dede Manus—et si falsa est accingere contra. Luc.

L O N D O N :

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REMARKS

ON THE

GOLD-COAST TRADE,

AND

Conduct of the Officers, for the
Publick, there.



ANY Person (be he ever so indifferent to the Voice of common Censure or Approbation) who undertakes to write upon a Subject that hath many Years been the *Debate* of Numbers, cannot fail labouring under, and being chagrined, at several Prejudices of the Publick ; especially when he hath too sufficient Reasons, to judge the Majority of the very Class of People he appeals to, *from private Motives* determined to condemn (in

a Manner unread, unheard) the Plan of his Operations, which must be confessed in general a very hard Tribute; especially when paid to the Man, whose *Weakness to write*, arose more perhaps from Motives of Public Spirit, than private Pique or Disgust; and whose Over-regard for the Welfare of his Country, enforced him to commit to the Speculation of Mankind, a Detail of Facts conceived very interesting, superior to any idle Apprehensions of Applause, or venal Views of Profit.

Had not the Disadvantages above been well considered, the Author intended (according to the best of his Judgment) a Disquisition on the Trade to *Africa*—to have investigated the several Branches thereof—set forth its extraordinary Advantages to *Great-Britain*, particularly the *Gold-Coast Trade*—at the same Time, the many impediments or Inconveniencies incident thereunto—whence its Declension in general—and where proper to strike out new Methods and fresh Paths to Benefit and Opulence.

It is again repeated, from the Circumstances above, and a due Sense how often, and by how many Gentlemen already (part of whom shall be presently touched on) the Matters aforesaid have for late Years been *pro* and *con* handled; the Author desisted therefrom, and only begs leave to premise, That from the first bold Adventurer to *Africa*,

in the early Days of *Elizabeth*, to the establishing of Settlements and granting the Charter by King *Charles II.* to the disincorporating the last Company, the Trade touched upon received more Misfortunes and Losses—took up greater Sums to repair the Buildings, and confirm the Whole——underwent more Changes and Alterations——and at the same Time was less attended to, and understood, than, perhaps, any Branch of Commerce the *British* Nation was ever concerned in. In truth, so little hath it been regarded by the Concerned for many Years past, that it has been in the Power of several Enterprizers, never bless'd with Discretion sufficient to manage Five Pounds in their own Affairs at Home, nor endued with Judgment enough from Experience or Tradition, to describe the Limits of the Charter, to amuse the Publick with plausible Tales, and on the decline of the Company's Affairs, *beneficial Views*, after the Manner of *De Foe*, who painted Meanders, Vistoes, and pleasing Lawns on *Guinea Banks*, Nature never formed, whereby (and in lieu of some Premium, yearly Consideration or Gratuity) such Persons have succeeded to the Management of Affairs there, a tolerable Salary and Use of the Supplies,——to the Disadvantage of all Traders to that Part of the Coast, the most valuable to this Kingdom.

In all fluctuating Societies, or Companies of Merchants and Gentlemen, many more than the Majority are ever to be imposed on; nay, in the very Trade they are connected to support, a Misfortune owing to the Want of *local Knowledge, and personal Experience* of the several Quarters, Members or Branches the same really consists.

What Chance for Truth doth the Good People then in general stand, whose Ears few other Accounts reach, than the imperfect Relation of some incurious Orator, Mariner, or miraculous Traditionalist, as little to be credited, and less depended upon. 'Tis enough to excite Laughter to hear what Tales some People tell of the Trade, Natives, their Tempers, Customs, &c. whereas to touch upon either of those Points, without having lived in the Country, with any tolerable Degree of Truth, the Post-Horse may as well be depended upon to give with Accuracy the Contents of the Mail; yet such Impositions have in general prevailed, and but a very little Time past, influenced the Minds of People to such a Degree, that certain Boroughs, far from an Acquaintance with the Trade of *Guinea*, presented their Petitions to lay open the same, as did other Corporations, tho' they have not had Courage for Years past, to send a trifling Adventure thereunto; nay, when a Joint-Stock Company was at first only touched on to manage this Trade, and keep
at

at least 80 or 100,000 l. worth of Goods in *Cape-Coast Castle*, was not an Information made that Merchandize could not be preserved little longer in *Africa* than a Year? which is absolutely false; because each sort of Goods will keep safe as in *Europe*, with proper Care, [especially in the Forts Warehouses;] nay unfortunately do they keep too long before they can be disposed of.

The Company, 'tis true, some Years past, or particular Friends in their Behalf, in order to stem or assuage the Torrent that had been long making head against them; or the better to palliate some Indiscretions, and obtain an additional Aid for their better Support, occasioned several Pamphlets regarding their Charter, Property and Trade to be published, which it is certain answered very little Purpose, as the same gave no Satisfaction to the Public. One of those Works appeared in 1748, under the Title of *Considerations on the Trade to Africa*, a good Pamphlet, and well intentioned.

The same Year issued forth a Tract in Opposition to the Company, called *The Detection*, begun upon the Footsteps of Boldness and Confidence, instead of Reality and Certainty——replete with Scurrility, and abounding with more Falsities than any Pamphlet published for Ages past. The chief Design of this Work, seemed calculated to prove the Forts and Settlements might be supported

supported and maintained much cheaper than the Grant of Government, with a Chain of Accusations against the Directors for a long Series, Topics than which, none could be more grateful to the Party for a Dissolution, and an open free Trade.

In 1749, came out by Mr. *Postlethwayt*, Considerations on the Trade, and an Attempt to unite the same to the *South-Sea* Company; a Tract full of such Facts and nervous Reasons, that it is confessed, had the same been carried into Execution, must have been with the *South-Sea* Capital, a most laudable Change, and would have fully answered the Intention our Ancestors erected those Forts for; but alas! the former of these honest Tracts, (such was the Humour of the Times,) scarce gained a Reader; and the last dropped into the peaceful Arms of Obscurity and Dust, unnoticed! scarce consulted. No Monopoly was the Sentiment in general, and an open Trade the Language of the Whole.

The Detector, led forth by the pure Spirit of Necessity was their Champion, (tho' against a former Tract of his, in favour of a Joint-Stock Company) who by Virtue of his Labours, and a wild fanciful Collection of Appearances, sad Props! got sufficient Patrons, introduced a new System, opened the Trade, removed the principal Officer Abroad, and went out himself with Supplies, to new model

model and extend the same according to the Plan. The better to accomplish which, a Power was given for any Adventurers, to establish Factories on Shore (for securing their Goods or Slaves) as well under Protection of the *British* Forts and Castles, as elsewhere.

From the landing of the Gentleman aforesaid and taking the Command, the Author commences the succeeding Relation; and as great Alterations happened, with regard to turning a-drift the Servants of the old Company under various Pretences (*particularly because they were allowed the Benefit of trading free and open, at the same time not regarding their Distress, or considering whether they had any thing to trade upon or not*) he takes upon him to examine into that Part of the national Indulgence, to show what mighty Benefits were experienced therefrom, *and* to apprise the Reader (whether he be led from the alluring Prospects of Wealth--- or compelled by the Frowns of Fortune and melancholly Force of Distress, to become an Adventurer) what he may expect; at the same time to enquire into the extraordinary Advantages received under the new Plan, compared to the Trade when in the Hands of the *old Company*. In which no Circumstance shall be heightened through Prejudice, or omitted through Partiality---only plain Matters of Fact shall be set forth, which require (as the Reader well knows,) no extraordi-

nary Richness of Fancy, Art, or Oratory to effect.

There are, it is certain, good-natured People of all Parties, some of whom may be led to think the following little other than an Ill-natured Information begun from Prejudice, and that several Circumstances are varnished over and aggravated through Malice and Envy. The Author rests content under such Calumny, and desires such of the Party would reflect the Affair is national ; not only the Safety of our Possessions in *Africa*, but the Welfare of the *British* Colonies, Dependence of two Thirds of the Shipping of *Great Britain*, are in Danger ; so well as the Encouragement of our Manufacture and Success of the Merchants supporting the same, from whom no Discoveries ought to be secreted. Is it not an Offence of the worst Species to connive and wink at the Proceedings of a few Persons who are fattening on the Spoils of their Country ?

Must an honest Trader (for fear of being called a busy Fellow) see the best, the most valuable Traffick *Great Britain* is concerned in, monopolized, by the very Person who went abroad to prevent it, *rest supine (like the Carter and pray for Assistance?)* No ! Common Prudence and the General Good directs him to rouse, put a Shoulder to the Wheel, and effect an Alteration. Is it not an incontestible Truth, when Affairs grow

grow worse by conducting, be it from want of good Skill or good Principles, Alterations can never be too speedy and soon?

The Tree is known by its Fruit.

To corroborate the several Allegations hereafter recited, proper Vouchers can be produced. As to Personal Pique, there truly subsists none with the Author. In reality, the Persons aimed at, being far from such Eminence in Life, and the Writer from an abject Condition and Obscurity, the few who are his Friends can have little Reason to suspect Malignance, or that he would endeavour after Acquisitions by promulging Falshoods, and wounding the Characters of any Men on the Coast of *Africa*.

To proceed then upon the Premises following, *viz.*

“ The especial Benefits free Traders have
 “ and may receive from the *late Act of Par-*
 “ *liament*, that empowers them to become
 “ such, if compared with the several Incon-
 “ veniencies attending such Indulgence, it
 “ will be plain and manifest, that instead of
 “ extending the Trade to *Africa*, the same
 “ hath been and will continue to be greatly
 “ prejudiced.”---

In the first Place, whilst the Governor or Chief of any Castle or Fort, under which a free Trader or Commander of a Vessel hath or may establish a Factory—is allowed to trade himself; such Commandant will ever

be an Opponent in Commerce to the Factory, and either corrupt the *Cabocheers* and *Traders* from Time to Time, or intimidate *them* to bring their Trade to him. Such Officer hath it in his Power a thousand Ways to distress a *Rival* in Trade. The very single Article of settling Disputes (every little Governor being not only a Chief Factor, but a Chief Justice over his Subjects) that happen among the Negroes, is sufficient alone to oppress the most powerful open Trader. As the Justice of the Cause (which hath been already experienced) will ever be given partially, the better to induce the Natives to bring their Slaves, Gold, Teeth, &c. for Sale, into the Fort.

Again,----To allow his Majesty's Subjects the Liberty of building Factories, &c. on Shore, is granting them a Privilege they can never truly take the Benefit of; which no Man in his Senses, that hath ever experienced the Coast so far as to live in a Negro Town, will contend,——it being a Truth that no Law however enforced,---whether by the Oratory of a *Cape-Coast President*, ecchoed and re-ecchoed from Chief to Chief, backed by the Efficacy of their choice Artillery, and bravest Troops of their Garrisons, can possibly establish a Factory in any Town, unless the Natives be so inclin'd.

Every Inch of Ground is the Property of the Negroes,-----and they are sufficiently tenacious

nacious thereof. The very Castles pay them Ground Rent ; and no Building can be erected without they first sell the Site, and the Purchaser pays a Fine and monthly Ground-Rent for his residing among them ; which is no small Hardship ; not to say a Word, that the Buyer is under an Obligation of swearing to be *subject* to the Negro Laws, to become a *Fellow or Brother Citizen*, to partake of their Quarrels, to defend the Rights and Privileges of each other, and defray great Expences that in no wise affect the Officer of a Fort's Trade.

Of what Service pray, in the Judgment of every considerate Man, can the Fortress of such Town be ? None, it may be truly answered.---for should Disturbances (which is too frequently the Case) happen between the *Forts and Natives*,---the free Adventurers will be reduced, for better Preservation of their Persons and Effects, to join the Townsmen and take Arms against that Garrison, which was intended by Statute to be their Defence and last Resort.

The candid Reader, perhaps, may conceive the above little other than idle Surmise and Conjecture ; and thence be led to ask an Instance of such Ills. For his greater Satisfaction therefore, and to show the extraordinary Use a Castle hath already been to free Factors, the Instances following are humbly offered.

“ From

" From *August* 1750, the Road from the
 " King of *Warsaw's* Camp, to *Commenda*
 " (down which a considerable Trade used to
 " be brought to the *English*) upon account
 " of some Differences with the *Commenda*
 " Towns-people was stopped or shut up,
 " so that no Trade could be brought to the
 " Fort from that beneficial Quarter, which
 " rendered the Castle little other than a *Mark*
 " of *Possession*, and Prison to secure the de-
 " linquent Slaves of the Negro Inhabitants.
 " The Chief having done every thing he
 " could by Messages, &c. to reconcile the
 " Difference until *May* 1751, had recourse
 " to the old Coast Practice on such Occa-
 " sions, and accordingly plyed the King con-
 " tinually with expensive Presents of one
 " sort or other, and at the same time asswag-
 " ed the Wrath of his own Head-Men and
 " *Cabocheers*, by virtue of Liquors and Cloth;
 " insomuch, that in *June* following, both
 " Parties became Friends, and agreed to
 " make up the Differences, which was fully
 " effected and strongly confirmed in *Com-*
 " *menda* Fortrefs, and Allegiance sworn to
 " the *English*, according to the Custom of the
 " Country by the *Commanians* and *Warsaws*,
 " to the great Joy and above 100 *l.* Sterl.
 " Cost of the Chief.—But, alas, before any
 " Trade came down in Return for his Ex-
 " pences and Fatigue, *the President* arrived
 " under the open Scheme, and without Cause
 " or

“ or Enquiry turned out the Chief, who had
 “ entered into Indentures with the *African*
 “ Company and Assigns for three Years, and
 “ given great Security thereupon, to make
 “ Room for a Man, who a few Years past
 “ acquir’d some Thousands in the Service,
 “ spent the same, as the President himself
 “ and another of his Colleagues had done,
 “ and adventured again.”

The Chief upon his Supercession, reflecting on the great Expence and Trouble he had so lately been put to, and not knowing what Course of Life to pursue, determined upon taking the Benefit of the Statute, and to become a free Trade ; accordingly by Consent of the Natives, paying a Fine and Custom, erected a Factory in *Commenda* in hopes to partake some Benefit from the Trade he had laboured so much to revive. On the other hand, his Successor soon understood the Case, and that the Fort Trade might be in some measure curtailed, therefore was not in the least wanting, either in Vigilance or Industry, to render his Competitor’s Designs abortive ; a Matter by *his Command* and Dint of the *Government’s choice Supplies* by no means difficult to effect. I say the Government’s choice Goods or Supplies, because the *President* directly on his landing made large Assortments of the prime Merchandize for all his Out-Chiefs by way of joint Stock, and having bartered other Parts thereof with

a *Portuguese* for a large Quantity of Tobacco, divided the same among his Partners, the better to enable them to command the Trade, at their several Forts, in Opposition to, and great Detriment of, every Independent or Free Trader ; who was obliged at that time to expend ready Gold with the *Dutch* General for Tobacco to partake of the Trade.

But to proceed ; the first Method the present Chief put into practice to distress the Trader aforesaid, was by summoning the principal *Cabocheers* and head Traders, Day after Day, into his Fort, where among other Circumstances, (after stupifying them with Drums) they seldom failed of being told, That all Trade from the *Warsaw* Kingdom, Town of *Commenda*, and Villages in its Precincts, must be brought and disposed of in the Fort. At the same Time urging, The Natives well knew, the Chief was entitled thereto from the first building of the Castle, preferable to any Person who pretended to settle a Factory in Town. “ A Behaviour as diametrically opposite to the Statute and Plan he
“ came Abroad upon, as agreeable and con-
“ sistent with the old Laws of the Com-
“ pany.”

A second Course he took, was on the King of *Warsaw*'s dispatching his Son twice with Slaves, Teeth and Gold for Sale to the former Chief, in Gratitude for the Peace he had purchased, and performance of the Compact
made

made thereupon ; by relaying the Road up into the Country with his Servants and Company's Slaves, and stopping the Traders several Days to tamper with, who in the End, were brought into the Castle at Night, where they disposed of their Trade, being first well assured their former Governor was going to his own Country.—Notwithstanding this Behaviour, it must be confessed the Chief is a Gentleman of exceeding good Character, and Master of as sound honest Principles as any Man ; yet it must be granted, under the present Circumstances, his Interest did get the better a little of those Principles.

Spirituos Liqueur being at this Time scarce, one Mr. *Stokes*, who had likewise been discharged, (and was wandering about the Coast) having procured a small Quantity, and some dry Goods, settled at *Commenda*, flattering himself of some little Success, and the Castle's Protection and Assistance.—But, alas ! No Man could succeed there.—The Chief on seeing two Competitors, only grew doubly resolute, and by means of a small Present, got his Cabocheers to apply to the *President* of the Council----that the two Factories might be demolished, notwithstanding the Ground was paid for, Building, Customs, &c.

It is true, that Officer, whether out of Fear or Conscience-Sake, did not agree to the Proposal ; but to lend a Helping-Hand

towards prejudicing the Traders, supplied the Company's Slaves and Free Negroes himself with *Dutch* Geneva *, *Orangos*, (*i. e.*) Beads, &c. to trade with in Opposition to them.

By the above, and other Methods practised during the Space of three Months, neither Slave, Gold, or Teeth was purchased at either Factory, although in that Time-----several of the former, many hundred Weight of Ivory, and at a moderate Computation about 30 oz. of Gold, were bought in the Fort with the publick Goods---and to replace the same ---Powder---Knives---Geneva---and Trade Spirits (unequal in Quality to the Goods expended) were purchased of a *Dutch* Interloper in the Road, at two thirds of the Value the Government's Commodities had been disbursed---to the Detriment of the Free Traders---Encouragement of foreign Manufactures, and great Damage of the poor Garrison to be supported and paid therewith ; for the Truth of which a † Depo-
nent is at Hand.

Under these Distresses, the Traders remonstrated to the Town's Men, the great Expenses they had been put to in Purchases, Buildings, &c. and the Method taken by the Chief to ingross the Traffic, and at the same Time set forth---that the Act of Parliament

* As per a Pass Note, in the Author's Hands.

† The Author.

entitled the Factories to the Trade equal to the Castles——and thereupon endeavoured to explain to them the Tenor of the Act, but could not avail themselves in the least thereby——it being impossible to make the most Apprehensive among them conceive what a Statute meant.

“ *Tando*, King of the Place, who has been duly experienced to be no Fool, very gravely demanded the Act, and why the same was not produced and divided among them——insisting if the same consisted of Cloth, he was intitled to six Fathom, if of Rum or Brandy four Anchors as King of *Commenda*.”

But on producing the Act, *Tando* observing the Composition to consist only of Paper, like a true Negroe, attentive only to immediate Interest, expressed much Astonishment, that White Men troubled themselves about black People. That his Slaves and Subjects had been governed by the old Laws, and always would——That the free Traders might eat upon the Strength of their Statute, the Chief as he had a Castle to protect them, should live by their Trade.

I could mention to the impartial Reader, (were I assured he has an Inclination, or any of his Friends to adventure on the Coast) other notable Instances of the Service that may be expected from a Fort, and what

Emolument from a Factory---which however trifling to the good People of *England* in general, is of much Import to a distressed *European* in *Africa*, turned a-drift, and in a manner deprived of all Hope of getting his Livelihood, or ever again seeing his native Land. But the same not being materially requisite, I shall mention a single Instance of the Manager's Disposition to do kind Offices, and leave the Reader to determine whether to an *African* or a *British* Trader.

Pilo, the *Commenda* Linguist and Trader, an arrant artful Fellow, having owed Mr. *Stokes* two Men Slaves, near two Years, the Creditor thro' want of Employment and Trade, being in great Indigence, (which can't be otherwise than the Case, among Natives, who are stupid to all Acts of Generosity---and Nature not at all Munificent) informed the President he intended to Panyare *, according to the Laws of the Country for the Debt, setting forth the Miseries he was in, and how exceedingly aggrieved for Want of the same to subsist upon.

To which the President---“ That he
 “ must be content. The Laws of the Coast
 “ should not be executed---nor the Lin-
 “ guist be pressed for Payment, or Panya-

* Seize or Arrest.

“ red upon, because he doubted whether the
 “ Fellow was able to pay the two Men.
 “ Slaves.” Very compassionate indeed, to
 consider the Affairs of a notorious Negro
 Cheat----before the severe Wants of a dis-
 tress'd *European*. The Reader is desired to
 Note, when the Term Panyaring is men-
 tioned, he is not to conclude such Negro
 arrested, can be sold directly off the Coast.
 No! the Slave is seized as Security for the
 Debt for a limited Time, generally prefixed,
 and the Benefit in the Interim got, is the
 Labour of such Negro to fetch Wood, Wa-
 ter, &c. provided the Creditor thinks proper
 to employ him.

Upon the President's Answer, Mr. *Stokes*
 referred his Case to the Natives, who deba-
 ted the Matter according to their own Me-
 thod, whereupon the Hardship appeared so
 manifest, that without the least Hesitation
 they seized four Negroes of the Debtor, and
 obliged him to render Satisfaction to the
 Creditor—to the perpetual Shame of the
 President, for two Reasons, First, For-
 bidding the Laws of the Country to be
 put in Practice to obtain his Due. Se-
 condly, For reducing a *European* to the
 hard Necessity of submitting his Cause to
 Negroes, an unprecedented Thing! tho'
 Satisfaction was obtained-----no Reason
 could the *President* have for such Usage----
 but

but a Propensity to oppress any Thing in Character of a Free Trader.

However, forbearing a Numeration of further Grievances,—let us presume all things to be carried on the Square, and no Methods exercised to monopolize the Trade by the several Castles and Forts.—Can any Man suppose, a private Merchant, who is obliged to pay Customs, Freight of Goods, House and Ware-house Rent, Servants of all Sorts and other contingent Expences, can possibly trade with a Person envelop'd within Stone Walls, —the Government Supplies to expend Freight-free, —and assort himself with. —the Company's Slaves of all Professions, to work. —Medicines — Doctors — Ground-rent — Customs — Linguist — and Garrison paid, Eatables — Firing — Lights — Presents to Cabochers and Traders ; in short, exonerated from every Article of Expence, together with a very handsome Stipend. Can the Commander of a Vessel do it ? Why ! It is a Fact, — The Chiefs of Forts have determined to give away their Salaries annually among the Negroes, the better to prevent Free Factors Success. — Admit the Trade was equally divided, — the same is not sufficient, — *Two Thirds will scarce do, thrown into the Hands of the Merchants,* — the Difference of Expences compared between them and the Servants of the Public.

Would the worthy Merchants trading to *Africa* weigh these Truths, not less prejudicial

dicial to their Interests at Home, than the unfortunate Adventurers destined to the *Habitude*, *Converse* and *Society* of Savages abroad ; and at the same time consider the Disadvantage of being obliged to barter and rebarter with the Refuse Cargoes, of Ships too frequently damaged, the Grant to Free Merchants will be found a very melancholly Indulgence ; as they can never be upon any tolerable footing in Traffic with the Servants of the Committee, whose Commodities lie safe as their precious Persons ; undamaged by handling or Accident, and far more secure than an Opponent's can possibly be in a Negro's Edifice, the Composition of whose Bulwark is Mud and Rush ; of which Captain *Boucher* of the *Triton* made a very unlucky Experience in the Town of *Cape-Coast*, where he hired an Habitation for his Slaves and some Effects, yet through Villainy of the Negroes and bad Structure of the Place, *lost six in a Day*, notwithstanding a very good Guard was continually kept upon the Spot. How precarious then is Property ? Was not the Warehouse of Messrs. *Roberts* and Company broken open and robbed ?-----a Crime never known till *Europeans* settled in Negro-Towns,-----It is worth at least 20 *per Cent.* Insurance from Fire. In reality, a Factory built under the Guns of a Castle, is no more a Security for a Man's Property, than the Trade to *Africa* may be said to be extended,
because

because it is made free and open. The first is a meer Joke, the last a Reflection on Common Sense ; because the Materials that compose the former are but Rush and Dirt ; the Methods taken to effect the Latter, ill judged, and destructive. For Instance,

The Director after his landing, (whether through the Pride of his good Success to the Office, or to gain the plausible Name of Clemency, and thereby pave a Path to the very Souls of the Negroes,---or from an Imagination the Trade would be extended,) abrogated the antient Laws of the Natives to the old Company---renounced Panyaring for Debts, or Stock for Support,---set Blacks on an Establishment with Whites,---the Consequence of which was,---that the Negroes, soon supplied themselves with Merchandize from the *Dutch at an under Price*, and carried all Traffic before them in several *English Towns*; a Practice till then unprecedented. *British* Commodities lay on hand, whilst those of Foreigners were disposed of to such a Degree ; thirty-nine * Cases, twenty-four Ankers of Spirits, with nineteen Kegs of Powder, and other Species of Goods, were sold at *English Commenda*, by the Negroes one among another, in the Space of three or four Days. Many other Instances can be given of

* As *per* Testimony of the Author.

the like Practices, to the great Detriment of the *British* Trade.

The Government grant ten thousand Pounds a Year to support the Forts and Settlements, the better to preserve and Strengthen the *British* Interest,---or in other Words, to repair and garrison the several Structures or Buildings, so as to be defensible and protect the Natives dependant thereon (whom, I conceive, to be the *British* Interest) from the Tyranny of their Neighbours. The Security of the *English* Negroes, is the Safety of the *British* Welfare. The more strong and impregnable the Castles are kept, and Authority exercised, the greater the Subjection, the firmer and more unanimous the Love of Negro Subjects.---On the other hand, as the Structures fall to Ruin, and mean People get into command,---the Native's Obedience decays in Proportion,---and Authority grows despised.---From such Governments, Dependants withdraw by Degrees,---and settle under Masters where Protection is more secure and Authority better preserved.

It is well known Protection is the grand Point a Negro desires,---oppress him as much as Mortal can invent, he will bear it with Patience, provided he is sensible *himself and Family are defended in Palavers*.---No greater Instance of the above need be observed than from the Government of our good Friends and Allies.-----

Now, to grant the Natives the Protection they want, at the great Expence aforesaid, and a free Trade with *English* or Foreigners (the latter of which they publicly embraced with a *Dane* in the Road of *Cape-Coast*) is a Point that wants much Ecclaircising.

If it was conjectured, by throwing the Trade into as many Hands as possible by virtue of the open Plan, it might grow *brisker* than ordinary, whence a *larger Quantity* of *English* Manufacture would be vended on the Coast, and the Trade extended, the same was a Mistake;-----it being a Certainty, less Commodities have been bartered between the Forts and Settlements since the Act, than hitherto known for a long Season. The Merchants in *England* can experience the Truth of this by inspecting their Books, whereby the State of Trade may be seen, as it stood in the Company's Time; and the Additional Increase from Shipping and Adventurers, under the present Plan. With regard to Blacks——the Reader may ask, if the usual, or an additional Quantity of *British* Merchandize is expended, what does it avail, whether sold by Negroes or Whites, the Nation in general is advantaged thereby——if Particulars are not?

In Answer,---The Natives were never allowed to trade in foreign Commodities under Pain of great Penalties---nor to go on board Ships to Merchandize: When any of
them

them did venture, it was in the Night and with great Caution ; because upon a Discovery all became forfeited. To permit them the Benefit of going aboard *English* Vessels, is permitting them to board whom they please : A Negro will never be confined to an *English* Vessel, especially when his Interest is at Stake. For Instance, The late Governor *Roberts*, from a good Intention to lay the Trade open as possible, permitted the Negroes the Indulgence of carrying off their Slaves to *English* Shipping without Interruption, but soon grew convinced of his Error——for upon Captains *Darbyshire* and *Boats* driving a *French* Ship out of *Elmina* Road, that commanded all the *Fantyn* Trade, tho' six Leagues from *Anamaboe*, the Commander run into *Cape-Coast* Road, under Pretence he wanted Water, which, upon Assurance he would not trade, the Governor granted,----and for better Certainty, sent an Officer on board, as did Captain *Darbyshire* to prevent any such Practice ; the latter lying with his Vessel, as did Captain *Boats* within Cable's Length of the *French* Ship : Yet, notwithstanding all their Precaution, and Care of the two Officers on board, the Negroes went under the *Frenchman's* Stern in the Night, put their Slaves in at the Cabin Windows, and received Goods in three Nights time for 40 or 50 Slaves.——In the next place,——it hath been already urged,

that a less Proportion of *English* Merchandize than usual hath been consumed ;—— That the Negroes buy foreign Goods principally to Trade with, and dispose of their Slaves to the Customers that give the best Price, *i. e.* *Dutch*, *Portuguese*, and *French*, as aforesaid, to the great Prejudice of the *British* Merchant and *West India* Planter.

Can a rational Man, under the present Management of Affairs, think the Trade more open, and the Public more advantaged than when it was vested in a Company,——who for Years past sent no Ships thither, nor permitted their Officers to trade,——other than to *Barter* the national Supplies for better Support of the Forts,——whilst the private Adventurers reaped the Harvest of the Trade, grew opulent on the Profits thereof,——clamoured for an open Trade,——a Joint-Stock Company condemned as destructive, and at the same time took the very Steps to establish one——the same is established——is confirmed on the Spot——is supported from *London* and *Holland*, and must soon become more formidable and pernicious to Trade in General——than any Company or Floating-Factory.

How absurd is it to call a Trade Free and Open, when the very Servants sent out to make it so, and promote the common Benefit, at good Salaries, are permitted to combine——to monopolize the same——not
only

only within the Limits of the Forts, but by dint of small Craft——(repaired, sheathed, and fitted up by the Slaves of the Public, and public Timber at no Expence) even to the Extremities of the Charter ; nay, for such Purpose to convert the national Supplies ; to receive large Consignments from *England*——and the very Means of transporting Slaves purchas'd to *Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c.* at prime Advantage thrown in their Way, to the great Damage of the Merchant-Adventurers, who in common Justice ought to have at least the latter Privilege.

I repeat again, a Joint-Stock Company subsists——of the worst Sort——a powerful, private One——the general Good unattended to——(*i. e.*) the *Trade* is engrossed——disposed of to vast Advantage to themselves or transported by their Vessels to the *West Indies*, and the Ballance divided between a *few* Managers, who study nothing more than to make the utmost Penny during their Continuance on the Coast——but when an Incident happens whereby the General Interest might be promoted, such as opening a Path for Trade, making up a Palaver, &c. &c. not a single Step is taken, or Farthing expended to effect it,——because such general good Plan, must ever clash with a well concerted private Interest. I call that a well-concerted Advantage, which

is

is well supported, and proves most destructive to the General Good——in short, it may be said, as in the Case of *Catiline*, that there are as many Conspirators against the Commonwealth, as Persons employ'd in it.

In Governor *Roberts's* Time, not the least Endeavours were exercised to engross or monopolize the Trade——he made it as free and open as possible, demolished a Factory at *Mumford*, belonging to the Council at *Cape-Coast*, for the Benefit of Captain *Graham* of *Bristol*, who settled his Mate there——and Captain *Darbyshire* of *Liverpool* is appealed to——if he had not the Trade, Use, and Command of *Tantumquerry* Fort, all the Time he lay at *Anamaboe* and elsewhere.

Is it not a Truth——for of Truths I write——that for several Months before the open Scheme, the Price of Slaves was fallen in the *Fantyn* and other Countries, by Means of the worthy Governor and Commanders *Darbyshire*, *Boats*, *Powers*, &c. to seven Ounces, which directly on the Change of Affairs, rose to eight, nine, and ten——could it be otherwise, when Factories got established----and Negroes empowered to trade against them, Factories contending not only against their *black* Opponents——but each other----and the Castles, with the choicest national Supplies, waging a War in Commerce with all Parties——whereby every
Slave

Slave brought to Market, suffered rebartering half a dozen Times before he came into Possession of a Commander of a Vessel.— Each Buyer, be he of whatsoever Completion, the Reader may depend, gets some Profit——whom it is fixed upon in the End, with the Impositions hereafter? The Captain most assuredly, that last ships the Slave on board——who, to exonerate his Owners, hopes to saddle the *West-India* Planters with the Cost——and if he fails, the former suffers by the Purchase.

Can any Person be so weak to imagine, or contend, Goods will sell faster and at a better Price when the Market is sur-charged?——or that Slaves will fall in Value, when the Coast swarms with Shipping? If the contrary——how is Trade extended? I ask again——will more *English* Commodities be vended to Advantage by half a dozen Factories established in a Negro Town, than if there stood only one? or will *African* Commodities be lowered or advanced——where there are six Bidders instead of one? if the latter, on what Side falls the Ballance? the *African* most assuredly! the very Party it should not.

If by the Number of Buyers, the Value of *British* Merchandize is lessen'd, and Price of Slaves advanced, insomuch, that a Negro receives as much Merchandize for two as he ought for three Slaves,——it may be asked whether

whether such Negro will dispose of two or three Slaves at a time, and if in general a greater or less Number will be brought to Market?---it is answered,---(the Disposition of Blacks well understood) two will be disposed of instead of three, and fewer be brought to Market when Slaves bear a greater Price, than a small one.----Necessity makes a Negro sell, but nothing can tempt him to sell more than will answer such Necessity :——How then is Trade extended ?

I refer to the Commanders of Vessels at *Anamaboe* in 1749, what raised the Price of Slaves to 13 oz. was it the Scarcity,-----or Number of Ships to purchase ?

The Matter of a Joint-Stock Company was much canvassed on the Gold-Coast,-----when the Scheme was on the Anvil,----Clamours arose, and Insinuations prevail'd of Designs to lay a Tax upon this Trade,-----the Foundations for which we were Strangers to. Certainly the good People of *England* can never be too apprehensive of their Rights, nor too tenacious of their Privileges, but whatever were the Designs, had a Joint-Stock Company taken place,——it is certain under the present Plan a heavy Imposition has flourished upon Commerce in *Africa*.----For Instance, each Slave,---good or bad---old or young,---a White Trader buys on Shore, the Town Cabochers demand a Custom of twenty Shillings,-----the Seller twenty Shillings-----the

the Broker or Jobber, ten Shillings---besides a Present of ten Shillings in Liquor for all Parties to drink on their Journey home, without paying those Impositions, a *European* may perish in his Dwelling. Under these Predicaments is it possible the Trade should not suffer?

Whilst Patty hath contended with Party, and Schemes been opposed to Schemes, the true Method of improving this inestimable Trade has been overlooked, and not a Step taken but hath rendered it worse.

Who has reduced the Price of Negroes? and who endeavoured to stock the Markets therewithal? Without both, can the Planter live, or the Prices of his Commodities be lowered in *England*.

Whether the Trade continues open---be vested in the *South-Sea Company*---or a Joint-Stock;---these ought to be the grand Attempts.---The Methods to accomplish them are at hand,---are plain as the Sun.---*Of which when sought for, a Plan.*

The open Plan was supposed by most People to have been introduced to set aside or dis-unite the late Company;---and the Act that confirmed it, calculated to allow Negroes Liberty of carrying their Slaves on board *English Vessels* without Restraint, and at the same time prevent Captains trading to Windward, from taking off Negroes unduly,---or Pawns,---or panyaring in lieu of Goods

entrusted,---whereby much Differences hath been created.---It is suggested the present Director taking these Premisses in too large a Sense,---repealed the old Law of panyaring in its full Extent.---

I must here beg the Reader's Patience on the Affair of panyaring, &c. with regard to Commanders of Vessels; it is well known, from *Cape Apolonia* to the *Volta*, no Instance is recent for Years past, that any of them has taken from off the Coast a single Negro without just Cause, and conformable to the Laws of the Country.

When a Person panyars (as observed heretofore) it is for a Debt,---Offence---or Pawn.---Pawns (though not of the Human Species) are taken in *England*, and sold if not redeemed in a limited Time: Why then to be forbid in *Africa*, when the very Constitution of the Country ordains it? The Negroes prescribe Laws to the *Europeans*,---and desire no greater Favour, than to be governed by their own Edicts.

Here, perhaps, a Hint to avoid trusting and taking Pawns, may be offered. I defy a Trader to say there are any Dealings to be made without. Speculation in *England*, and Practice in *Africa*, are two wide Points. It may be asked with respect to the Grain Coast, Whether a Custom hath not long prevailed there of entrusting Goods for Provisions, and if without, a sufficient Quantity can be procured?

cured ? Now when a Usage hath acquired so much Footing as not to be set aside;—what is a Commander with 150 Slaves on board to do ? are all to grow meagre and half starved, preferable to lending 50 or 100 Bars to buy Eatables?—Is the Risk of trusting a few Goods on shore, to purchase Rice, &c. on Pledges, in any Proportion with the perishing of his Negroes for want thereof ? and what is he to do, if the roguish Trader runs away with the Merchandize, and regards not his Faith or Pledges ? Is the former to do it and extend his Mercy ? On such Occasions, Sureties have been taken away, and Reprizals made by the Natives. Is there a Man whose Temper can suffer a Negro Imposition, or his Owner's Property pillaged out of his Custody, and not procure himself Satisfaction ? If there is, I deem him unfit for Employ.

To prohibit the Benefit of panyaring,---and securing of legal Pledges---is destructive to the Trade---with the same Parity of Reason might the Privilege of buying *Africans* be restrained,---the former past doubt being as lawful as the latter.

Great Part of the *Gold-Coast* Negroes sold, are panyared or condemned on Palavers. No Man is exempt from it, or can plead his Safety ;—Freedom being little other than the Dream of a Night,---so transitory as to deserve neither Respect or Attention ; the

Poor being ever in Subjection to the Rich, the Weak to the Strong; *Cudjo* is as liable to be sold off the Coast as either his Household Slaves.---It is no new thing that Kings and Cabochers, when unsuccessful against mightier Powers, are sacrificed to Bondage without Reserve.

When People at home, who measure Right and Wrong by the Standard of their own Laws, and judge of Actions by the Proportion of Humanity and Virtue they have been bred to, and practise in their Inter-courses with each other,---are informed the Officers on this Coast could send into their Towns and seize the Native Stock for Subsistence, they marvel at such arbitrary Acts, call it Cruelty and a thousand bad Epithets,---without considering, or perhaps being sensible, that each Native owes his Freedom,---Life,---and daily Bread to the Fort he lives under,---and that the old Company dearly purchased such Immunities.

It is not forty Years past the Natives along the Sea Coast, dared adventure five Miles into the Country (and in many Places at this Day can't go from under the Forts)---the In-land Negroes being at such Enmity with them, that whenever Revenge or Necessity urged, strong Bodies came down and laid waste the Water-side Towns---pan-yared Numbers of some,---and laid heavy Fines on others;---which the Company at
times,

times,——when the Cause was right,——by the Authority of their Officers——redressed,——and when wrong,——advanced considerable Sums for the Redemption of such Dependants. And whenever the Officers are incapable of exercising such Authority and Power ; whether from the Neglect or ill Support of the Structures, or want of Means to advance Sums for such and other Purposes ; the Natives will immediately seek Protection under the Settlements of other Nations contiguous to them, of which many Instances can be given.

Now in lieu thereof, and to render some Gratification.----the Inhabitants empowered all Officers to seize Sheep, Goats, &c. for their Support——paying for the same——and to panyare one Negro upon Account of another, for Debts justly owing. The Company enjoyed these Privileges, as Lords of the several Signiories circumjacent to their Forts ; when they disposed of those Castles to the Public, they disposed of the Privileges annexed to them ; and for what Reason the same are given up, by order of a single Man, being vested in the whole Nation for the Public Benefit, and not arbitrary Oppressions, but fundamental Laws established by the Natives, and as before observed, dearly paid for by the Company, is to me unaccountable.

Was

Was a large Estate in *England* vested in many Families——the Profits of which arose from the several Fines, Fees, Forfeitures, &c. under Management of a Steward, who instead of collecting such Benefits, and keeping the Tenants to their Suit and Service according to Custom, let the same lye dormant, or voluntary threw them up into the Hands of the Tenants, would it not be shameful to let him pass with Impunity ?

Adieu *British* Authority——the Negro is empowered to offend——unnoticed——to run in a *British* Subject's Debt, without Danger to his Person——or the Liberty of Satisfaction from the Pledge put into his Hands. When a little more time has given Sanction to these things, farewell every *Vestigium* of a *Royal African Company*——

It is very Concerning to say——and what will scarce gain Attention——the Negro Laws, in many Instances, are as wisely calculated, as those of some *European* Countries——too few, could the Natives write, to need registering or employ Casuists upon ; every Man being his own Advocate, and well versed in his *Magna Charta*.

Pawning and Panyaring are such Laws no *Christian* Nation can boast——it is the very Reason here are no Jails for Debtors, nor magnificent Hospitals upon generous Endowments for the Indolent and Poor.

If

If a Negro wants Money-----be he Old or Young-----Decrepid or Robust-----he can pawn himself---or his Son---his Sister or Sister's Child----to his Neighbour, for a Sum payable at a Day certain ;---and until such Debt is paid, lives as much---nay more, ---a Slave to the Lender, than if he had actually sold himself ; because if the Pledge dies (the Debt undischarged) the Creditor panyares upon the Family, even to the hundredth Cousin, and his Heirs in like Manner, from Generation to Generation.

If the Consideration is a Crown, it is as effectual as 500 l.---When all *Africa* is indebted to each other, who then is a Freeman ? A Cabochear that hath perhaps secreted in the Bowels of the Earth, three Tons of Gold Dust, will pawn himself on a trifling Emergency to three or four different Persons, for two Ounces *, before he will break into his Hoard, or let his good Circumstances be known---so fond is he of Wealth-----so charmed to be deemed Poor.----In short, borrowing, lending, panyaring, or selling, is the whole Commerce of a Negro Town---and to forbid either, argues the greatest Insensibility of the Constitution of *Africa*. Upon the very Custom of Panyaring---the Prerogative, Structures, and Property of the *English* Nation hitherto *both been*, and

* Eight Pound.

must *still be*, by the Exercise of, supported ;
 —tho' so little understood, and so easily
 relinquished of late.

Upon a Dispute with the Natives, or our
 dangerous Friends and Allies, (a Thing too
 often experienced), there is no certain Point
 of proving the *British* Right, to Towns in
 the Country (to cut Timber in the Forests
 —to collect Shells and Coral for Lime,
 to repair the Fortifications) than by making
 manifest that the Officers belonging to the
 Company daily panyare in such Districts----
 and have exercised such Authority for Years
 past.

The very Act of Panyaring determines
 Right and Title——and is a sufficient Justi-
 fication that the Natives live in Vassalage, for
 the Protection they receive from the Forts ;
 (that is) they prefer doing Suit and Service to
 White People, before the least Concession
 to their own Colour. The *English* without
 Partiality, seldom or ever make Seizures out
 of their own Territories.——Our Allies
 break the Rule too often (presuming on their
 superior Strength.) They claim the exten-
 sive Forest of *Atchua*, where the *English* hath
 fell'd Timber, and gathered Materials for Lime,
 &c. Time out of Mind, upon no better
 Foundation than because a *Dutch* Slave
 says, the *Accoda* Chief sent him thither in a
 Time of Famine, fifty Years past, to panyare
 Corn.

Further,

Further,——When a Day comes of putting the tatter'd Remains of the Forts into repair, (tho' God knows when that may happen, no Trowel having been injured by Mortar, since the Alteration of Matters) how is the same to be accomplished? If the Prescriptive Usage of Panyaring is forborn, the Slaves collected from every weak Hold, will be found much too feeble and insufficient to repair a single Curtain.

A Fort Slave, however robust, will do but a certain Proportion of Work ; no Scourge can hurry him with his Burthen ; no good Words expedite him to his Labour ; he well knows himself a Slave for Life.

The Drudgery of haling Timber from the Woods, collecting Stones, Shells, &c. was chiefly perform'd by the Natives in Subjection to the Forts ; and so often as any refused their Assistance, without Distinction, the Offenders were panyared upon, and made Examples of Disobedience.

Upon a Representation of Governor *Roberts* to the Natives of *Commenda*, that the Repairs of the Castle should be proceeded upon, as soon as Wood, Timber, and Stone, could be got ready, they well knowing their Duty, not only undertook the Work without Hesitation, but entered into Covenants * if the same was not performed, the Chief of

* See the Agreement in the Hands of the Governor.

the Fort, should panyare upon the Town, to the Value of 20 Bendys *.

Now to relinquish such Rights (the Bulwark of *British* Interest), is to renounce all Title to Possession.

The very Natives soon contemn and dislike such Commanders, and struggle to shake off Allegiance, well judging those Persons who will not maintain their own Privileges, very unfit to be entrusted with other Peoples.

Still further, how grievous is such Restriction, when it extends to the Article of Negro-Provisions ; how are the Garrisons to subsist, (from Short-Pay and Inclemencies, the Generality are more fit for Hospitals than Fortifications) being paid in Goods at three, and six, Hundred *per Centum* advance, as Flour, Biscuit, Pipes, &c. &c. to oblige them to go to Market for their Necessaries ! the Salary of each ought to be five Times enlarged.

On the Negroes advancing the Price of Provisions, several Soldiers deserted one Night, in hopes of getting Employment under the *Dutch*——for it is almost impossible to run away on this Coast ; which they soon experienced, being brought back next Day, and to the Mortification of a Number of Spectators, cruelly flogg'd and pickled.

* One hundred and sixty Pounds.

When the Servants enjoy'd their ancient Privileges Distresses were seldom known, nor were Murmurings heard. The Salaries bore Proportion to the Value of Provision, and at whatever advance, Dependants were paid Goods; the Natives never refused accepting them for eatables.

If *British* Subjects adventure hither, they must have necessary Support (Nature, as hinted before, is not at all Munificent here), and what does it avail a Director to give up a special, a national Advantage, when no Utility can redound thereby, to a set of People, who know themselves not entitled to it? in truth it is doing little other, than distressing the most distressed.

Lenity to *Africans*, in its Consequence, will ever be experienced Barbarity to *Europeans*.—There is no cultivating a Friendship among them by meek Usage, nor obtaining a Pennyworth of extraordinary Trade by genteel Treatment.—There is no washing them White.—A tight Rein, and a strong Arm, with continued Presents, makes them honest to their Trust, and firm to their Obedience.—Meek Treatment and neglect of *Dashees* * meets the contrary Return. Compassion is an Impulse ill-bestowed on a Savage, whose earliest Rudiments, with regard to an *European*, are to look upon him as

* Negro Term for Gifts.

his Property, to get whatever he can from him *by any Means*;——and in all Matters that regard his own Complexion, never to divulge a Truth. To be brief, The Instant they became sensible their Lords renounced the ancient Grants; that they were lifted to the level of White Men, and the Form of Government changed, Negroes stood on Tip-toe, and struggled for Preheminence. *Europeans*, whom they revered but few Days before, received Insults; nay, the Condescensions of the Director made them so confident and bold, that few Days passed but some *British* Subject or other, got injured or wounded. A Negro, after robbing an *English* Sailor, maim'd him under the Walls of *Cape-Coast*, because the Man demanded a Return of what had been stolen. The Day succeeding, had it not been prevented by Governors *Roberts* and *Stockwell*, one *Charles*, an honest Sailor had lost his Head, for presuming to bid a noisy Negro hold his Tongue. Upon Complaint of these Hardships no Redress could be had; silent sat the *Senatus Consilium* and unmoved. How terrible in any State is authorized Ignorance!

Reader! these are not Dreams, nor did the Mischiefs terminate here: The Negroes——crafty Generation! trump'd up a Number of Sores on the Subject of Panyaring, and obliged many of the discarded Servants, residing among them (a Situation greatly to be commiserate)

miserated) to pay again and compound for Provisions, they had long before the Company were disunited, been satisfied for. — A Fool may fire a Pistol, but the wisest Man can't tell who may be hurt by the Glance of the Ball, — In truth, so far did they carry Matters, as to seize the Governors of * *Accrá* and *Winnebab* on their Journey to *Cape-Coast*, drubb'd both soundly according to their Custom, and obliged the latter to pledge two Slaves for 48l. on pretence that some Months past he had taken a Hog out of his Town, and had no Right by the Law of the new Director.

O Son of *Delilab*! thou hast trim'd and shorn the Locks of ten thousand *Sampsons*, and first broke that favourite Edict, thou wer't so strenuous to establish.

Here a Tale, which the Reader is at Liberty to pass over, if Sleep, Humour, or an Affignation permits him not to consult it, *viz.*

In *September* 1751, His majesty's Ships *Glory* and *Swan* anchor'd at *Cape-Coast*, the Officers on Invitation came on Shore, whom the President was so perplexed for Provisions to entertain (having relinquished the Power of seizing Stock on such Occasions, and being unwilling so manifestly to expose himself by renewing it again upon the Natives) that the Company's Slaves were dispatched to fetch

* Since turned out, tho' 14 Years in the Service, and succeeded by Mr. *Young*---as per Advices received.

Stock, from the House of a free Merchant resident in Town, which they enter'd, and forcibly carry'd away his Sheep, the poor Pittance, that with Expence had been procured, and with Difficulty preserved for Provision on his Voyage homewards. Hard Usage to poor Men! especially in a Part of the World where there is no Law to avail themselves of, where Justice is measured by the Proportion of Profit---where the Will of a Bashaw is the supreme Rule and Standard, by which all Things are to be judged good---or bad.

The Gentleman wrote the Note following,

Sir,

The Cooks have enter'd my Dwelling, and carry'd away my Sheep, for what Reason I know not; if you countenance them in such unjustifiable Proceedings, I shall have very little Regard to them as Company's Slaves, or Respect to Yourself, as Governor of Cape-Coast.

Upon which Cabocheers, Peynins * and Negro Soldiers, were summoned into the Castle, and loudly harangued to, especially by one † of the Council, who had the Barbarity to excite them to bring a Palavor upon the Trader for his insolent Note, and to examine how he dared to reside in Town,

* *Peynins*, old Negroes who set to hear Causes.

† Young.

(although the House he lived in was his own) without paying a Custom to the Natives of four Crowns upon each Slave he purchased. In short, the Negroes were told in general, to eat (in the Language of Blacks) the Trader's Gold, Slaves, Teeth, and Liquor, that no Cognizance should be taken of their Proceedings. In Consequence of which, he was forced and compelled into the Market-Place, to be tried by the *Cape-Coast* King, and some hundreds of Negroes. Before the Tribunal of *Cudjo*. An Insolence never heard of, or attempted since the first Establishment of the Trade. But Necessity hath no Law. — There is no withstanding the Commands of People who can cloth the most flagrant Injustice, with the Livery of Authority.

The Captains * of the Ships of War, Governor *Roberts*, and several *Europeans* led thither through Compassion, were Witnesses of the Affair, and Nature of a Negro Court of Judicature, where all Tongues were ready to arraign, but every Ear deaf to Defence.

The Matters alledged were, That the Defendant being settled in Town, had not given Presents of Liquor to the Peynins so often as they visited him. That he did not pay four Crowns Custom on each Slave purchased, that his Sheep being panyared to entertain the Officers (the Natives having drove their own into the Country, on the Ships

* Hon. *Richard How* and *Dudley Diggs*, Esqrs.

anchoring in the Road) he ought not to have complained; for being an Inhabitant in the Town, he was as much a Negro as either themselves.

The Gentlemen present may recollect, whilst the Accusations were setting forth, profound Silence was maintain'd; but when the Defendant intended to speak, a mighty Din of Tongues, Drums, Horns, old Iron, and other Negro Instruments was made to confuse and drown what he said.

In short, after much disagreeable Clamour, a Demand was made by the Negro Assembly of nine Anchors of Rum before he should be permitted to speak: Which, it must be confessed, had not Governor *Roberts* kindly interposed, whom the Negroes greatly respected, would not have been mitigated, nor but by his Influence the Affair accommodated.

The Day following, a Tax was laid by the Negroes upon the same Gentleman *for the Liberty of Trading*; these Impositions were duly satisfy'd, but no Recompence made for the Sheep. Have not the like Practices been exercised against *William Husbands*, * Esq;?

Can Courtesy be expected to private Merchants, or Emolument to the Nation in general, when Self-interest is the only point attended to? when worthy Men of good Con-

* Refer to a Letter in the Hands of Mr. *Roberts*, wherein the *Cape-Conf* Negroes have been since spirited up to bring a Palaver against Mr. *Husbands*, though one of the Council.

sultation, Resolution and Performance are obliged to give place to the unqualified, irresolute and unworthy. Ambition ! subject to no Countrol ; and private Lucre in these Parts too soon overcome the Modesty of such Men ; who to promote the Latter would not study to oblige the Negroes with a Sacrifice of any Man's Life or Fortune.

As Thorns among Lillies, so is their Love to Free Trade ; otherwise *Cudjo's* Sallary had not been rais'd to 100 *l. per Annum*, Gold Value ; a Stipend sufficient to pay four more powerful Cabochears, thereby to engross the Trade of *Cape-Coast* Town and Country.

Nor would such unjust Methods have been taken as to oblige several trading Men to take solemn Oaths not to dispose of a Slave but to the Castles, nor a Man † taken into Partnership, and promoted to the Command of *Tantumquerry*, that would have abandoned *Dixcove* to the *Dutch* and Negroes who besieged it ; and suffered unnoticed to cannonade a *British* * Trader at *Lagoo*, for hoisting a Flag at his Factory (which those Natives so much resented, that with Difficulty they were restrain'd from besieging the Castle.) Nay, though he fired upon him, whilst the latter was at Repose, and beat down Part of his Bed-Chamber, did it touch the Soul, or make the least Impression on the great Ba-

† One *Brew*.

* *Mr. John Stokes*.

shaw. On the contrary when a Gentleman * hinted to him, that the Chief was suspicious he should be broke for such Behaviour, said like a fit Director for an open Trade, ' Then ' the Man is a Fool, or he need not have such ' Apprehensions; cannot he perceive by my ' taking no Notice thereof, that he is in no ' Danger of being removed? As I can't ' appear publicly in it, I can't give this ' under my Hand; but if he minds our Trade, ' he has nothing to fear.' Is it not clear from hence, that the Traffic is absolutely become a private Jobb, and will the good Merchants in general permit it to remain so, and countenance a Man that declares he will have a large *Dutch* † Ship from *Holland* to ingross the same with, if he can't do it with *English* Merchandize.

It may be here objected, that several Slaves have been publicly dispos'd of on the Coast to the Commanders of trading Vessels; — so that the whole Affair is not become so private a Jobb.----For Answer, it is confess'd, several were sold to Captain *Stroud* of *Bristol*, &c. &c. but of what sort were they?---to the Author's Knowledge little other than Refuse; or the very Cullings left from those sent by the *Prince Edward*.---Can any Gentleman think prime Slaves will be barter'd away by any *Body* of Traders, who

* Mr. *John Russel* now in *London*.

† Refer to Mr. *Roberts* for Confirmation.

have Ships lying ready, or in Expectance to transport them at best Advantage themselves? Can the Man be expected truly to regard the *British* Interest or Subjects, who at the public Table declared he acknowledged no ROYAL MASTER *; and never to prefer Mr. *Russel* a Factor in the Service, because recommended by a Gentleman, who after the Rebellion, (in consideration of his good Services) had the transporting of above half his Countrymen concerned therein?

Can he be thought to have the Welfare of the Merchants at Heart, who suffers the *Dutch* to hoist their Colours, and possess *Anooko English* Territory in the *Fantyn* Country, and not take one Step to prevent such Proceedings, or dispossess them, because it would be attended with a little Expence; though Capt. *How* gave it in Charge, and was assured it should be done?

Would a Man who bore the least Respect to his Country, or regarded the Extension of its Trade, when Governor *Stockwell*, [who by Mr. *Roberts's* Assistance, hath settled at the important Cape of *Apolonia*, notwithstanding the Efforts of *John Van Voorst*, General of *Elmina*, who would have expended 500 Bendys † for the like Privilege] applied for a Carpenter to erect a Flag-Staff to hoist *English* Colours, that *British* Commanders might see

* As per Affidavit of Captain *Emerton* now in London.

† A Bendy is 8 l.

who were Possessors thereof, have bid him in Answer, hoist *French* Colours *,---*Spanish*, the *Moguls*, or the Devil's for what he cared, he should have no Assistance.

Or when Governor *Roberts* had concluded an Agreement with *Achampo*, King of *Popo*, that the *English* should settle or build a Fortress in his Territories, and solely enjoy the Traffic, and as an Hostage for the truth, sent his favourite Son †, have hurried a Messenger thither to frustrate and prevent the same? By such Men as the former, and such Means it may be truly said on the one Hand, the Trade to *Africa* is in a fair Way of being extended; and as truly on the other, That by such Directors and such Management, it is in as fair a Way to be contracted.

Again, after Captain *How* in the *Gloria*, so bravely worked a Peace in *Abanta*, and the Heir of *Bossu* came to *Cape-Coast* with several notorious Revolvers, who had not only been Principals in the Blockade of *Dixcove* fifteen Months, but at a Congress turned Evidences in Behalf of the *Dutch*, would any Rational have made a Cabocheer of the former, and advanced his Salary beyond the Linguist and Town Cabocheers, who lost a considerable Number of Slaves in the Siege, and continued Loyal to the *English* to the very Conclusion of the Affair? nay, he refused to pay

* As per Certificate of Mr. *Stockwell*, in the Author's Hand.

† Now in *London*.

Acca * his Salary due, which Mr. *Roberts* not only discharged out of his Pocket, but advanced, in consideration of his faithful Services, and continues to pay the same on the Coast to this Day.

I say, would any Council or Body of People, who did not actually *sympathize with Rebels*, have caressed them on their own Conditions ? to wit, That the Company's Gold-Taker, and other dependants (Sufferers by the War) should be turned out of their Employ ; nay, banished with their Families the *Abanta* Kingdom, and this at a Time, when not the least Necessity moved to it.—Unmerciful Terms! On such inhuman Conditions might a Peace have been concluded long before. Is it to be supposed Negroes will adventure their Lives again in Defence of an *English* Fortification, when the Reward of their Service is not only Banishment from their Country, but Abandonment to the Enemies they fought against. But what care the Managers! Self Interest is become their Study! nay their Recreation at the Expence of the Public Good, which is internally Hurt.

Are such Men then to remain at the Head of Affairs, or is a Director fit to conduct, whose Abilities were never experienced, whose Sufficiency was never approved, who alarmed the World with one Plan in Print, and in

* *Dixcove* Linguist, who defended that fort fifteen Months with his own Negroes,

Performance behaved the reverse; proposed *abandoning the Fort at Whydah* *, and the Instant he had the Direction of Affairs, sent a large Draught of the publick Goods thither, took the Governor into Confederacy, and declared *that* Fortification of more Consequence than all the rest.

Who now publishes a Tract for a Joint-Stock, and now another for a free Trade; who lower'd all Calculations for Support of the Settlements, and on Experience found his own Sum not half sufficient to maintain the Garrisons; and whose Integrity, I must say, is in Proportion to his Knowledge.

1. There may be People in *England* (tho' I am sorry they should) who will not like the unpleasant Sounds of these necessary Truths; but were they here to experience Things, the Case would be otherwise. Here's something so contaminating to Virtue, that the Instant a Man, (who hath only his own Interest at Heart,) sets his Foot on Shore, he is infected with the Calamity of Dishonesty. Farewel Assurances of Honour.—Farewel Declarations of Justice made in *England*,

Would it be pleasant to one of them, when sending a small Vessel to *Popo*, to see the Officers of the Public, with the Company's *European* and *African* Slaves, toiling and bustling Day and Night, as if the last Penny was at Stake, to dispatch a *Sneau*, † afforted

* See *The Detection*.

† Prince *Edward*.

with the Government's Merchandize, to get thither before him, and forestal the Market.

Would it be agreeable to the Commanders from *London*, *Bristol*, and *Liverpool*, did a Dozen of them lye at *Annamabo* to complete their Cargoes, to have the Doctor *, instead of attending the Sick, comethither in the Vessel aforesaid, and command the Trade by Virtue of the choice public Supplies; nay, by such Means to see the Sneau dispatched before their Faces, as Captain *Xewart* † can testify, with upwards of a hundred fine Slaves? the President declaring, he would have three other Sneaus on the Coast, on Account of himself and Company.

Was is not an indisputable Instance of their Regard to free Trade, when at a Time the late Governor wanting to purchase a few Slaves, (having parted with forty to Captain *Xewart* to expedite him off the Coast) went among the Forts with a Cargo for such Purpose; for the President to dispatch Orders to his Chiefs ‡ not to sell any Slaves to him; but if he gave 7 ozs. they should give 8; if 9, they 10 of their very best Goods on the Head of a Slave, to prevent the former's Designs: Is not this ingrossing the Traffic, obstructing free Trade, and by advancing the Price, superlatively injurious?

* *Mackiel.*

† *Of Liverpool.*

‡ For the Truth the Reader is referred to *John Roberts, Esq.*
Had.

Had I not at Heart the Reader's Patience, a thousand such Injuries could be enumerated; but to harp no longer on the Affair of Trade! to say not a Word more on the Misapplication of the public Aid.

Humanity is forgot, and common Honesty towards the Servants in inferior Stations unpractised; being paid Cloth at forty Shillings, that on a Sale will not bring thirty. — Bread and Flour at four and five hundred *per Cent.* advance. By such and other ill Usage, the very Adventurers with the President, to wit, Messieurs *Powell* Doctor's Mate, *Bonville* and *Ruffel* Factors, with others long in the Employment, were provoked, nay obliged to quit the Service. *Thomas Boteler*, Esq; was denied Goods on his Salary and quitted. — The old Gardener begged his Discharge, in order to go off the Coast, which was granted, and a Note given for his Wages, being about 28 *l.* which the poor Man, in order to purchase a little fresh Provision, sold with Difficulty to the Overseer of the Slaves for eight Pound.

Mr. *Emerton*, Factor, (now in *London*) was made close Prisoner several Months for a trifling Offence; and Mr. *Godfrey*, Surveyor of the Fortifications, turned adrift, because his Dog threw a Water-pot down. Are these not Barbarities?

* *John Saweidger.* a Prussian.

Why

Why are not the Fortifications supported and Prerogative maintained? Why are the public Materials sent out by the *Flying Flam-borough* to repair the former, become for want of Care and Conversion, national Rubbish? Why is an inland Interest neglected with the Natives? And why the Structures instead of Signs of Sovereignty, rendered disgraceful Marks of Possession? Will any Gentleman assure me *Winnebab* Fortrefs is not become such, when Mr. *Withers* does not dare to adventure into his Town, *the Natives having become so saucy and cruel*; nay, scarce to the Gates of the Fort, from the sudden Power thrown into their Hands. Did he not complain to Governor *Roberts* of this, and that two of his Townsmen had insulted him in his Castle on the change of Affairs? did he not lament to the Author, that he had not been for some Months to the Waterside? nay, did I not see his Garden was become desolate, and his little Offices tumbled to ruins, so great the Danger of cultivating the one, and Hazard of repairing the other? Was not the Chief of *Tantumquerry*, under the same Dilemma? In the late Governor's Time, notwithstanding a long expensive War with the *Dutch* and *Abantese* at *Dixcove*, *Cape-Coast Castle* was repaired in some Measure; *Succonde* greatly, and 100,000 Billets of Wood collected at *Commenda*, to burn

Lime for rebuilding the fallen Curtain of that Fortification. But certainly the Managers since are intoxicated with a Spirit of Contrariety and Resolution, not only to neglect the Fortifications, but to ruin and unhinge the Trade in General, by ingloriously renouncing the Authority, Laws, and Privileges annexed thereto——its very Soul and Support.

It needs no Prophet to prognosticate as things are circumstanced, Foreigners will reap the Harvest of *British* Labourers; That the Spring of the *West-India* Planter will wither; and a Day come when a Lady of the first Quality will deplore the Scarcity of Sugar; and an honest Subject over his Glass, lament the Expence of a Pipe of *Virginia*.

A certain Power had long possessed the important Settlement of *Annamaboa*, when the *Auriflamme* and *L'Content* were on the Coast, and *Dixcove* Fort been in the Hands of Allies, had not a Man been in the Direction of Affairs of uncommon Industry and Generosity *, whose Courage was never sunk by Adversity, of which he shared a large Proportion †; nor could Prosperity, had he been blessed with it, have lessened his Circumspection where the Public Welfare was concern-

* See the Presents made the *Fantyns*, in the accounts of *John Roberts Esq*; on the two *French* Men of War lying at *Annamaboa*.

† Refer to Journal of the Siege of *Dixcove*, and Palaver thereupon.

ed. In truth, his Conduct needs not the Tongue or Pen of a Flatterer; for the most supercilious Man cannot with Justice say other, than that he was ever Intent upon advancing the Emolument of his Country, and thereby Fame; or the most friendly Voice in behalf of his Successor deny, but that *his* Aims are after private Lucre, at the Expence of the national Good, on a Comparison of their Behaviours the same will be manifest.

The one by a generous Disbursement of *his own Property*, not only sent two *French* Men of War of the Line from *Annamaboa*, but made the Cabocheers fire upon them.

The other on a later Occasion, *viz.* the third of *February*, 1751, tho' a Squadron was anchored there, had actually an Officer on Shore, marked the Out-lines for a Fortification, and were complete with Materials for a Structure, lamented sending six Bottles of water'd Liquor (*tho' Supplies of the Public*) among the whole Common-wealth, to preserve that Territory he saw so tottering and unstable, which the Negroes with Contempt sent back.

Would any Man conceive the Author of *The Detection* [wherein the Company's Officers are so roundly charged with neglecting to send Presents to the Kings and Cabocheers to promote Trade, and support an Interest,

in the Country) could be so changed in his Temper, from what he laid down in Writing, as to endanger the *British* Property by the like Neglect.

Having touched upon the *French* Squadron at *Annamaboa*, &c. an Affair not only very alarming to the People in *England*, but the *British* Subjects and Negroes on this Coast, I shall conclude with giving the Reader a short Detail of that Matter; the *Interest* of the *President* among the Natives, and *painful* Part he took in accommodating Things, and sending the *French* off the Coast.

The *Lys*, *Halcyon*, and *Anemony* anchored the Beginning of *February* in the Road of *Annamaboa*; the Measures they took are hinted above, as are the Efforts of the *President* to disconcert them.

Six Bottles of Spirits (had the same not been return'd) would have been of little Avail against 100 Anchors of Brandy, which the *French* sent the *Fantyns* the first Day; nor could an Offer of 1500 Bendys, or 12000*l.* to build a Fort, and settle there, be parried off with 40*l.* of Gunpowder, especially by a Man despised and unbeloved,

By the Disrespect the *Fantyns* bore *one* Man, from his Stingyness and Unpopularity, did the *French* gain Countenance, and a Grant to erect a Castle on the *English* Territory. By the Love, Affiduity, and * Gene-

* He gave them one present of 60 *l.* sterling.

rosity of the preceding Director, who on such Occasion went to *Annamaboa* (tho' out of Employment) did *John Currantee* retract such Indulgence, and kept the *French* in Suspence, till the 9th of *February* arrived the *Assistance* at *Cape-Coast*, *St. Albans* and *Sphinx*; never could a Thing happen luckier for the Satisfaction of private Persons here, or Advantage of the Nation. The Reader is desired to remark the following Questions and Answers are not introduced as certain but from Hearsay.

' On the President's being asked, What
' the *French* did at *Annamaboa*? he an-
' swer'd, He could not tell, he knew no-
' thing of the Matter; *Neither in truth did*
' *he, having not so much as enquired about their*
' *Proceedings, nor knew he a French Officer*
' *was on Shore.*

' Being told there were Presents from the
' Government, to give *John Currantee*, and
' asked if he would go to *Annamaboa*, to en-
' quire and learn what the *French* were a-
' bout; answered, he could not go thither
' to settle a little Palaver, if he did the *Fan-*
' *tans* would expect him to run down on e-
' very Occasion to adjust their trifling Diffe-
' rences.'

In such Light stood this interesting Affair to the present Governor, as a Trifle the Grand Mart of all the Gold Coast, trifling the mer-
cantile

cantile Interest dependant thereon, trifling the Presents from *England*, and as trifling the Charge of the Squadron ; he not only refused to assist himself in preserving that invaluable Settlement, but tho' it was apprehended an Engagement might ensue between the Ships of *England* and *France* ; positively forbid an experienced Sea Officer * to go thither as a Volunteer, and others † of the Garrison who offer'd their Service.

In the End, two of the Council ‡ went to *Annamaboa* with the Commodore, where they landed with the Honourable Captains *Byron* and *Wheeler*, and were met by Governor *Roberts* and the *Fantyns* ; the Commodore disposed of the Presents he had in Charge, and after exhorting the Natives to disniss the *French* Officer they had on Shore, and continue in their Allegiance to the King of *Great-Britain* : The *Fantyns* answered, (so accurate as could be interpreted), they had been well treated by Mr. *Stockwell* during the Time he was Governor. When he was turned out, they were satisfied because Mr. *Roberts* was a good Man, and used them well, but was turned out to make room for a Governor of what Sort they could not tell, who minded nothing but Cotton, and held his Hand

* Captain *Emerton* now in *London*, &c.

† Mr. *John Russel* now in *London*. &c.

‡ *Husbands* and *Young*.

too close ; that had they received as good Usage from him as the last Governor, they should not have taken the *Frenchman* on Shore, but behaved in the Manner they had done the Year before ; that nothing could be got from the new President ; if any of them went to *Cape-Coast*, they were ill used ; for which Reason they were exasperated, and resolved to be in Friendship with the *French* ; that the *English* Fort had been down near forty Years ; that they had been often promised it should be rebuilt, which the *English* might have done, so well as at *Anishan* and *Agga*. However, by the strong Assurances of the Commodore, that Things should be put upon another footing, and the Castles be proceeded upon, they promised to dismiss the *French* Officer.

In the mean Time, to do Matters effectually, the Commodore and Captains went on board the *French* Commander, whom the former with great Resolution, like a true-*Englishman*, insisted should depart thence, and take the Officer from Shore, or he was ready to compel him by force ; which was agreed to, and from that Time a Stop put to the Affair, at the Expence of 30000 l. at least to the Nation, which never would have happened, had a Man of Spirit been Master of the usual public Supplies ; by Virtue whereof alone, the *Fantyn* Interest might easily have been preserved ; and it must be confess'd,
had

had less vigorous Measures, less Force, or less Courage in command been the Case; *Annamaboa* had been lost——*perhaps irretrievably so.*

The World may criticise upon this Tract; they are welcome, they have a Right to do it. The Author is not exhausted; he has farther Matter; he has other Testimonies to introduce, which shall be dedicated to the Public occasionally.

F I N I S.